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ABSTRACT

In the fall of 1969, a program to expand educational opportunities for economically disadvantaged students was initiated at Macalester College in Minnesota. During the preceding academic year, 3% of the Macalester students were non-white, whereas by the fall of 1972, just 3 years after the program was initiated, the non-white percentage had risen to approximately 15%. By the fall of 1969, more than 20 non-white faculty and staff were hired and several supportive programs had been developed. Through the spring of 1972, 76% of the Expanded Educational Opportunity (EEO) students who enrolled in the fall of 1969 were still enrolled at Macalester. Average grades for the EEO students were approximately one standard deviation below those of the non-EEO sample, a difference similar to the difference in high school grades between the 2 groups. EEO students were more likely that non-EEO students to major in the behavioral or social sciences and less likely to major in the fine arts, humanities, and physical sciences. (Author/HS)

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Macalester College
St. Paul, Minnesota 55105

RESEARCH ON THE PROGRAM OF EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

January 1973

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Abstract

In the fall of 1969, a program to expand educational opportunities for economically disadvantaged students was initiated at Macalester College. During the preceding academic year (1968-69), three percent of the Macalester students were non-white, whereas by the fall of 1972, three years after the program was initiated, the non-white percentage had risen to approximately 15 percent. By the fall of 1969, more than 20 non-white faculty and staff were hired and several supportive programs had been developed.

Through the spring of 1972, 76% of the EEO students who enrolled in the fall of 1969 were still enrolled at Macalester. The rate of persistence for a random sample of fall 1969 non-EEO enrollees was 59%.

Average grades for the EEO students were approximately one standard deviation below those of the non-EEO sample, a difference similar to the difference in high school grades between the two groups. The average number of courses successfully completed by EEO students through the spring of 1972 was only slightly below that of non-EEO students.

EEO students were more likely than non-EEO students to major in the behavioral/social sciences and less likely to major in the fine arts, humanities, and physical sciences.

While approximately half of the Macalester students reported they had difficulty communicating with students from racial backgrounds different from their own, between one-fourth and one-third of the students said one of their best friends was someone from a different race.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
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(Regional Research Program)

Preface

Few research reports are completed without significant involvement from persons other than the major authors. This report is no exception.

Richard Prawat, Elaine Lockley, Cheryll Johnson, and Oliver McKinney assisted with early stages of the project, while Janis Weiss and Ruthena Fink played important roles in the preparation of the final report.

Throughout the research project, valuable support has been received from the Macalester administration, including Presidents Arthur Flemming and James Robinson, and Provosts Lucius Garvin and Kenneth Goodrich.

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Introduction

It is clear that one of the significant directions for American higher education is an expansion of educational opportunities for the disadvantaged. As early as 1964, Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) found that nearly 37 percent of the institutions listed in the Education Directory (1962-63) reported offering compensatory programs of some kind. Most of these programs served fewer than 30 students and provided minimal supporting services to the enrolled students, primarily white. In the late 1960s, attention focused on assisting potential students from racial minorities who,because of financial and/or educational deficits,would not be eligible for admission to college. With a few exceptions, most attempts to increase disadvantaged, minority enrollment have focused upon black youth.

The definition of the term "disadvantaged" usually includes two elements, an educational one and an economic one. Educationally, the disadvantaged are assumed to have had inferior academic experiences, e.g., the schools they attended were poor, and/or the home environment did not encourage a positive attitude toward school. In addition, the disadvantaged come from homes with family incomes well below average.

Theoretically, programs for the disadvantaged are based on the premise that the university or college can and must do more for young people who, because of their poor academic preparation and low socio-economic status, would not normally attend college (Astin et al., 1972). However, the existing programs are so varied it is difficult to assume that they strive for similar ends.

Although compensatory programs are becoming more numerous, research on such programs has lagged behind. To study the "success" of a program, one must face the difficult problem of criteria measures. At the same time, however, lack of descriptive data limit evaluation of services rendered and consideration of alternate plans which might better serve the individualized goals of the students within a program. In addition, there is some suggestion that changes may be taking place in the characteristics of students, particularly black students, enrolling in various institutions because "higher education is reaching many blacks from cultural subgroups previously denied access" (Sedlacek, 1972), suggesting a continuing need for research in this area.

Most of the research up to now has not been aimed at collecting data about compensatory programs of single institutions, but rather has relied on a broader group, e.g., black freshmen at the University of Maryland, or students from a sample of colleges and universities who said they had participated in a program for the disadvantaged. In spite of the use of diverse samples and differing measuring instruments, some commonalities in the results seem to appear. The extent to which these data can be generalized to any single program remains to be seen. One further caution needs to be inserted; Black (1970), Crossland (1971), Dispenzieri, et al. (1968), Hedegard and Brown (1969), Jensema and Lunneborg (1970), and Tetlow (1969) all indicated that those in

compensatory programs who fell by the wayside have been ignored. Thus data have been collected on a very restricted range, the most persistent and perhaps, as Astin et al. suggest, the most middle-class oriented of the disadvantaged.

Retention

Astin et al. found that participants in programs for the disadvantaged, 83 percent of whom were white, had high educational aspirations. Most planned to finish college and one-third expected to go to graduate school. Bayer (1972), using a nation-wide sample of black freshmen, not necessarily disadvantaged, found that among freshmen entering college in the fall of 1971, more blacks (49 percent) than non-blacks (33 percent) hoped to get a post-baccalaureate degree. However, this represented a decline from the post baccalaureate aspirations of 1968 black and non-black entering freshmen. Both Bayer and Astin found that only 2 to 3 percent expected to drop out temporarily or permanently. DiCesare, et al. (1972) found that among a sample of black undergraduates, 13 percent (10 percent of males and 16 percent of females) did not return at midyear while 15 percent of the white undergraduates did not return. In a Higher Education Survey (1970) of minority and non-minority freshmen, the return rates after one year for both groups was 70 percent, a figure more in line with other data on attrition. Klingelhofer and Longacre (1972) studied an Educational Opportunities Program (EOP) at a "fairly selective, western, public five-year college." Persistence rates for EOP students and comparisons (non-EOP students with similar educational experiences before entering college) were similar and rates of progress toward a degree were closely matched. After seven semesters, 31 percent of the EOPs were not in school and had not graduated while the same was true of 25 percent of the comparisons. Klingelhofer and Longacre report that the EOPs were under-represented in the "good standing" and "withdrawn in good standing" categories and over-represented in the "disqualifies" category.

A number of studies have been carried out aimed at investigating the correlates of persistence and non-persistence among disadvantaged and/or minority students. Astin et al. found that the disadvantaged students most likely to drop out were those who: 1) were older, 2) said one of their life goals was to write original works, 3) were attending a university or an institution that allowed students a great deal of leisure time, 4) were American Indian rather than a member of another minority group, and 5) expressed anxiety about their ability to finance their education (see also Bayer). Klingelhofer and Longacre reported that the "disqualified" EOP students had severe personal and family problems (see also Dispenzieri, et al.) and seemed more alienated, resentful, and less inclined to accede to the demands of the institution. On the other hand, the most persistent students have been found to be those who: 1) made good grades in high school, 2) planned as freshmen to major in a preprofessional field, 3) gave high priority to the life goal of becoming a community leader, 4) attended a larger and more selective institution, 5) attended an institution which had a competitive atmosphere, a flexible curriculum, and high school spirit (all above from Astin, et al.), 6) said they absolutely were certain they would

get a degree, 7) rarely said that if they did drop out it would be because of insufficient reading or study skills, and 8) lived in a university residence hall (for women only) (DiCesare, et al.).

Grades

Grades have been strenuously criticized as an adequate measure of learning, particularly when dealing with a disadvantaged group. In terms of "value added," the "C" or "D" disadvantaged student may well have overcome greater deficits and learned "absolutely more" than the non-disadvantaged "A" student. In nearly all cases, researchers have predicted a positive relationship between disadvantaged status and lower GPA and to a great extent this is what has been found, although students in compensatory programs (in most cases these students are taking regular, not remedial or special, courses) have maintained higher GPAs than would have been predicted from their high school records. Astin et al. reported that among "high risk" students, 19 percent as compared with 25 percent of the regular students were earning a B+ or better grade level. Klingelhofer and Longacre found that in spite of similarities in rates of progress, the EOPs earned much lower GPAs than the matched sample (2.05 vs. 2.64, $p < .01$), had a much higher incidence of unsatisfactory grades in individual courses (2.07 vs. 0.75, $p < .01$), and were flunked out in significantly greater numbers.

Pfiefer and Sedlacek (1970), using grades as a criterion, found that having a positive self-concept was an important variable in the success of black students at the University of Maryland. The indications from the studies of Epps (1969) and Gurin, Lao, and Beattie (1969) were that successful black students tended to have high aspirations and felt that they had control over their lives.

College Major

Most researchers report similar findings with regard to the selected or probable college majors of disadvantaged and special program participants (Astin, et al.), black high school students (Panos and Edgert, 1972), or black college freshmen (Bayer; Kimball, et al., 1971). Astin found that generally the disadvantaged choose social science for a major with teaching the most frequently selected career (predominantly white sample). Among black college-oriented high school students and black college students, both male and female, business is the most often selected major (usually chosen by about 20 percent) with the social science fields second in popularity, followed by education and health (non-M.D.) fields. Bayer reports that non-black freshmen are more likely to major in physical sciences or engineering, biological sciences, and agriculture. Business has been the most popular choice for blacks, but rankings of other choices have resulted from the fact that researchers have not separated their sample by sex and in most cases when a black sample was used there were more females than males in the group. When analyzed by sex, black males chose business (17 percent), engineering (15 percent), and fine arts (12 percent) as their most probable majors while black women chose business (23 percent), non-M.D. health professions

(17 percent), and education (12 percent) (NSSFNS Research Reports, 1972). The choices of Spanish-speaking students were quite different from those of black students with the Spanish-speaking minorities more often than others choosing law and less often choosing the non-M.D. health professions, engineering, and scientific research.

Student Attitudes

There is a paucity of data on the reactions of the general student body to the development of compensatory programs and/or to the recruitment of minority students on their campuses. Astin's data indicated that compared with a nation-wide sample, students at institutions with compensatory programs held more strongly the objective of helping others in difficulty. Although students-in-general were not certain that the disadvantaged should be given preferential treatment in college admissions, students in institutions with compensatory programs were more inclined to agree than students not in such institutions. (Interestingly, the latter difference also was true for minority group students in the two kinds of schools.) Although students favored increased efforts directed toward reaching the disadvantaged, most felt apathetic or indifferent toward the programs in their own institutions.

Students in special programs were less likely to be satisfied with their college experiences than were students-in-general. This was particularly true when the disadvantaged students were black and participated in programs at predominantly white institutions. Disadvantaged students tended to see the general student body as hostile rather than apathetic. Black students felt alienated especially when there were few black cultural or social facilities, a situation characteristic of colleges which were located in small, non-Southern towns. As Hedegard and Brown conclude, the black student is likely to find the academic community he encounters has been tailored for someone else. Astin, et al. also found that although both participants and non-participants in special programs had similar complaints about faculty-student relationships, the participants were more likely to feel they had too much assigned work. Klingelhofer and Longacre reported that the judgments of the EOP students were generally, but by no means universally, favorable.

The remainder of this report describes and presents some early findings related to the program for Expanded Educational Opportunities at Macalester College.

Procedures

Four sources of information were used in developing the data included in this report. Retention, grade average, and major field of study were obtained from the Office of Student Academic Records (Registrar), and admissions data were obtained from records of the Admissions Office.

The attitudinal data came from two sources. In the spring of 1970, near the end of the first year of operation for the EEO program, a random sample of 20 EEO and 28 non-EEO students were interviewed by a black and a white interviewer. Part of the focus of these interviews was on student satisfaction and the extent to which the students had developed friendships with students from racial or ethnic backgrounds different from their own.

Another part of the project involved the collection of "expectations" data from incoming freshmen in the falls of 1969, 1970, and 1971. Completed follow-up questionnaires were received from students in the 1969 cohort in the spring of 1972, and the 1970 and 1971 cohorts were each followed-up in the spring following their enrollment. Percentage of response ranged from 75% for the 1971 cohort to 47% for the 1969 cohort. Some of the questions in these instruments also focused on the extent to which the students had interacted with students from differing racial backgrounds.

In addition to these data, reports from various College committees and departments were used to prepare the historical program description.

A Description of the Macalester Program for
Expanded Educational Opportunities

Macalester is a 95-year old coeducational liberal arts college in St. Paul, Minnesota. It is located in an urban residential area on historic Summit Avenue (once the residence of F. Scott Fitzgerald), midway between the downtown areas of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The campus is a few blocks west and south of a Model Cities neighborhood, an area that encompasses many of the city's poor and black. Roughly 12,000 black persons are in St. Paul, and some 30,000 reside in the Twin Cities area. In addition, there is a large Native American community in the metropolitan area, drawn from reservations throughout the state. Given the heterogeneity of the surrounding population and its urban location, it is not surprising that Macalester has sought to enrich its programs by fostering greater ethnic and racial diversity in its student body.

In its 1961 long range plan the College had taken the position that it is

> essential that students have an opportunity to live and study with other students who can share and contribute insight into people and society that their own background has not provided. The College should therefore strive to insure that its student body is composed of students from varied economic, social and cultural backgrounds.
>
> The College should, while maintaining high academic standards attempt to enroll increased numbers of students from minority groups within the country...

Prior to 1969, however, the College remained mostly white and its approximately 2000 students came largely from the middle economic level. Efforts had been made to recruit minority students and these efforts, by criteria then widely accepted, were reasonably successful. Thus, in the 1968-69 academic year there were some 45 black students on the campus. However, the recruiting policy and criteria, and the supporting academic and counseling programs, tended to run along traditional lines. While attention was given to avoiding a rigid approach to admissions, for example, by looking beyond high school standing and SAT scores, no systematic guidelines were developed for this purpose.

By the fall of 1968 a feeling that the College should advance its efforts beyond simply encouraging minority group applicants began to develop. Fundamental change was anticipated. A serious question had arisen about the relevance of Macalester. Did the College reflect the world its graduates would be called upon to serve?

This examination coincided with a wider interest on campus for changes in the operational structure and educational mode of the institution. Change was soon underway in a wide range of matters from graduation requirements to student control of affairs. Governance and the goals and objectives of the College were also undergoing thoughtful examination. In this setting, discussions began about increasing the diversity of the Macalester student body.

At the first meeting of student, faculty, trustee, and administrative representatives early in September, 1968, the President of the student Community Council urged consideration of increasing the number of students at the College from racial minority groups and from economically and educationally deprived backgrounds. By October 21, with strong encouragement and support from newly-appointed President Arthur S. Flemming, a preliminary proposal was drafted by an ad hoc group called together by Dean Fred Kramer. The draft noted that, "If the College believes that some students from all segments of society, including students from disadvantaged backgrounds, can benefit from the Macalester educational program, then it has the responsibility to develop a positive program to insure that such students do have the opportunity to attend Macalester. Not only do such students need a liberal arts education, but Macalester College badly needs these students in its student body."

The proposal called for enrolling 60 new students from racial minority groups, 50 of whom would come from "educationally and economically deprived" backgrounds, plus approximately 25 new white students "from backgrounds of severe economic and educational deprivation."

This proposal recommended:

1. Separate admission evaluation.
2. Compensatory educational programs.
3. Less reliance on test scores for entrance.
4. A wide geographical spread.
5. The addition of a minority group member to the admissions office staff.
6. The use of Macalester black students in recruiting and screening applicants.
7. A pre-admission summer program.
8. An expansion of the counseling and advising staff to work with the new students.
9. Greater flexibility in academic evaluation.
10. Tutorial and special skills program during the academic year.

The basic proposal was as follows:

In order

to improve the educational resources of Macalester College by expanding the diversity of the student body, faculty, and staff,

to provide opportunity for high quality liberal arts education to students who cannot otherwise attend a high tuition college,

and to enable Macalester to take a larger responsibility in the education of distinguished graduates who will play an important role in determining the destiny of our pluralistic society,

The Advisory Council of the faculty moves faculty support of a program to expand educational opportunities at Macalester College, this program to be developed and implemented by the

Advisory Council in conjunction with appropriate faculty committees, academic departments and administrative officers, and to comprise the following essential components:

1. Provision of total aid (tuition, fees, room and board) for 75 new students each year, including 60 new students from racial minority groups.

2. Specific recruitment and admission of potentially successful students from racial minority groups and economically deprived backgrounds.

3. Enrichment of the curriculum, to broaden awareness and deepen appreciation of the contributions of diverse roups to our society and to our cultural heritage.

4. Exploitation of existing arrangements for individualized educational programs and of flexibility in present procedures for evaluation of academic performance; explorations of needs and possibilities for greater individualization and flexibility.

5. Establishment of diagnostic and remedial programs in communications and mathematics, open to all students.

6. Full and imaginative use of the summer programs, to provide orientation to college life and compensatory educational experiences for students recruited under this program and others who would benefit by them.

7. Development of a flexible individualized program of advising.

8. Improvement of co-curricular programs and development of new programs to meet the needs of students recruited under this program as well as the rest of the College community in relation to them.

9. Orientation of faculty, students, administrators and other staff, to begin in the spring of 1969 and be available on a continuing basis throughout the year.

10. Continuous coordination and evaluation of all parts of the program.

Following approval of the proposal, the motion outlining the program and its supporting document were forwarded to the relevant committees of the Board of Trustees. Representatives of the Advisory Council attended meetings of the Board's committees on Education, Finance, and Investment to assist in explaining EEO.

At the January, 1969, meeting of the Board of Trustees, President Flemming recommended full approval of the Expanded Educational Opportunities proposal. The Board's Education Committee strongly supported this recommendation. President Flemming also proposed that if EEO did

not attract sufficient new funds, up to $900,000 from the College's unrestricted funds be made available to implement the program over the next three years. The Board's Finance and Investment Committees concurred in this proposal with the clear commitment to replace any funds used in this way. Both EEO and this financial support were approved by the Board.

The faculty voted to place overall responsibility for the coordination and evaluation of EEO "with the Provost and the Dean of the College, assisted by the Director of Educational Research and advised by the Faculty Advisory Council." Accordingly, the Council moved to involve leaders of the various academic and supporting programs of the College in beginning implementation of EEO.

Many faculty members, supporting staff, and students were asked to help. With the agreement of the Provost and Dean, the Council asked faculty members, usually department chairmen, and key committee members to assume joint responsibility with members of the Council for initiating plans and beginning implementation of each component of the program. Students were integrally involved in all implementation groups. Upon recommendation of the Advisory Council and the Dean, the Provost appointed Mr. James Holly to the position of coordinator of the EEO program through the spring term. Mr. Holly was on full leave from his position as College Librarian for that period. Recruitment began for a permanent EEO coordinator.

A February 4, 1969, report to the faculty from the Advisory Council concluded:

> In the document "A Proposed Program to Expand Educational Opportunities" dated December 3, 1969, it was asserted that the College "cannot hope to meet these responsibilities unless
>
> 1. We are assured of fully adequate funding of scholarships, educational-supportive programs, and increased faculty and staff;
>
> 2. We are open to a basic rethinking and change of many of our present educational attitudes and procedures;
>
> 3. We are committed to imaginative recruitment of faculty and staff from minority groups."
>
> The Board of Trustees' action goes far in assuring adequate financial backing. The Board has placed EEO at the top of the list of priorities for the College's Development Program. Recruitment of faculty and staff from minority groups is proceeding very well. The success of the educational and supporting programs, however, depends to the greatest extent upon the faculty. Most of the components of this program rest on our imagination, persistence, and actual willingness to expand educational opportunities at Macalester College and not merely vote our intentions.

Work began in earnest in the spring of 1969 to hammer out detailed plans, select staff, recruit students, and establish new offices and services. During the academic year 1968-69, approximately $180,000 was spent in order to staff the project and to provide a summer orientation for EEO students.

Dr. John L. Warfield was appointed in June as executive director of the EEO program. While the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of EEO, as with any College program, resides in the Board and President of the College, the executive director had a great deal of autonomy in administering the program. He served as chief administrator with executive responsibility for the administration of Project Upward Bound and the Black House. He had primary responsibility for financial and budgetary matters, organization, development, staffing, and implementation of all programs.

Admissions and Recruitment

The recruiting of minority group and other students to participate in EEO, of necessity, began in the last months of 1968. On October 22, 1968, the Admissions and Financial Aid Committee was established as a sub-committee of the Faculty Advisory Council. The Committee's first responsibility at that time was to develop recommendations for the Advisory Council on what was to eventually become (on December 5) components 1 and 2 of the Expanded Educational Opportunities program. These components dealt with recruitment, admissions, and provisions for financial aid.

In 1968-69 the Admissions and Financial Aid Committee was composed of five faculty members and five students, with two of the faculty members coming from the Advisory Council and one of the Advisory Council members serving as chairman. In practice, however, as the recruiting and screening function of EEO began, an ad hoc advisory committee of black students operating with the Admissions and Financial Aid Committee provided counsel during the recruiting and admissions process. In December, a full-time black admissions counselor was hired. In addition, four black Macalester students traveled during the month of January to recruit students as part of an Interim Term project.

In October, 1969, formalization of the recruitment and screening of minority group applicants occurred when a Black Admissions Sub-Committee was established to serve as the selection committee. Reasons cited for establishing the committee composed of minority group students, faculty, and staff pointed to the "shared insight and empathy" of minority race members and the desire to involve them in recruitment and admissions. The Committee was to develop useful and appropriate criteria for selecting a more diversified student body. Its proposals were to be presented to the Admissions Committee, the Faculty Advisory Council, the faculty as a whole, and finally to the Board of Trustees for approval.

Students entering the College under EEO in the first year were selected on a highly individual basis. Although standard test scores

and academic records were considered, weight was given to personal recommendations and to interviews with the Admissions staff. Admission, in the final analysis, did not depend on a fixed policy or standard of academic measurement, but on a student's "potential success" as evidenced by his special talents, motivation, and the recommendations of those involved in the admissions procedures.

EEO Enrollment

Largely as a result of the EEO program and other efforts to meet the needs of young people from low income and minority groups, the minority student enrollment at Macalester increased from less than three percent in 1968-69 to 15 percent in 1972-73.

The EEO freshman class that enrolled in September, 1969, was composed of 82 students--43 men and 39 women. Of the total, 63 were black, 8 white, 6 American Indian, 3 Puerto Rican, and 2 Mexican-American. They came from 19 states and the District of Columbia. Thirty-one students were from Minnesota. Seventy-six of these original EEO students returned to Macalester in the fall of 1970 and were joined by 75 new EEO students, bringing the total number of students participating in the EEO program to 151: 113 black, 18 Indian, 14 Puerto Rican and Mexican-American, and 6 white. They came from 21 states and the District of Columbia with one-third of the group from Minnesota.

In the fall of 1971, with some students not returning and a decision to limit the number of new EEO participants to 40 (due to a financial crisis at the College), enrollment figures showed 166 EEO students at Macalester. Of these students 121 were black, 22 Indian, 10 Mexican-American, 9 Puerto Rican, and 4 were white.

In the fall of 1972, Macalester had 185 EEO students: 126 black students, 24 American Indians, 15 Mexican-Americans, 14 Puerto Ricans, and 6 white students. There were also approximately 120 non-EEO minority students enrolled at Macalester during the 1972-73 academic year, a three-fold increase over the 1968-69 academic year. Many of these students also benefit from the special supportive services offered to EEO students but do not receive full financial aid.

Faculty and Staff Recruitment

Recruitment efforts centered not only on minority students but also on minority faculty and staff members. In the spring of 1969 a great deal of time was devoted to these ends, which resulted in the number of faculty members from the black community increasing from 1 in 1968 to 11 by the fall of 1969. Nine disciplines were represented: music, sociology, chemistry, philosophy, English, political science, mathematics, Spanish, and education. The number of administrative staff from the black community increased from 1 to 12. Taking into consideration all faculty and staff positions, the number of minority persons increased from 15 to 58. Although the College as a whole has faced personnel cutbacks during the last few years, the number of minority faculty

and staff has remained relatively unchanged. Beginning in the fall of 1972, in fact, black staff persons were named to the positions of Dean of Students, Director of Student Academic Records, and head football coach.

Present EEO staffing includes a director, a program assistant and financial officer, an administrative assistant, a coordinator of academic support along with two counselors to aid in the advising of students, three coordinators responsible for the Indian, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American programs, and two counselors for the Indian and Hispanic students.

Summer Program

Soon after his arrival on campus in early June, 1969, Dr. Warfield took over directorship of the summer EEO program. Seventy-five percent of the students participating in EEO arrived on the campus for a five-week, pre-freshman program that had been designed by the Admissions, Summer Programs, and Curriculum Committees, in consultation with the EEO Steering Committee under the chairmanship of James Holly. The 75 students were joined by 13 Macalester Upward Bound students taking their "bridge" term (an orientation program designed for those who participate in Upward Bound during high school and who have just graduated and are preparing to enter college in the fall).

The 1969 Summer Program consisted primarily of a week of orientation with the remaining time devoted to seminars taught by black faculty members, and workshops in writing, speech, art, music, and math-science directed by Macalester upperclassmen. Each student took one of eight seminars or a course in the regular summer session and one of five workshops offered. The seminars were entitled: African Heritage (a study of African music, literature and dance); The Absurd Life--Definition and Responses (a study of alienation, rebellion and loss of identity in literature); New Perspectives of Black Music; Awareness in the Sciences (a seminar in mathematics and the sciences); Readings of Afro-American Literature; How to Examine Social and Political Institutions in the City; How to Study a Foreign Language; and Speech and Speakers in the Sixties.

Beginning with the summer of 1970 the five-week special summer session was dropped, but all new EEO students have participated in a fall orientation week before classes have begun. The week's activities were designed to meet a variety of special needs expressed by the students.

Curriculum Enrichment

One of the objectives of EEO was to enrich the curriculum with courses of particular interest and relevance to the new group of students. While the 1969-70 fall catalog showed no new courses specifically designed to meet this objective, many departments were able to meet the needs of students under "Topics" courses (courses with changing

content arranged to suit the interests of students and faculty) and independent study programs. The Black Liberation Affairs Committee (BLAC) had recommended postponing the development of Black Studies classes until 1970-71, but with increased interest shown, students were able to receive credit for courses in Black History, Black Theater, and Black Music that were taught by members of the EEO staff who were given ad hoc appointments in academic departments.

In 1970-71 the freshman students were encouraged to concentrate on basic academic courses like mathematics and English and the material that might be considered "Black Studies" was offered in the co-curricular program through the Afro-American cultural center. Also added in the second year of EFO were two courses in American Indian Studies: "Indian-Americans and their Environment" and "Native American History". By the third year of the program other courses were added: an English course on Afro-American Literature and a history course entitled "U.S. Racial History". Other curricular changes emerged to "broaden awareness of the contributions and problems of diverse groups" in our society and included ten new Interim Term[1] courses offered in the fields of English, French, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, and speech and dramatic arts.

In keeping with an attempt to make the curriculum relevant to the needs of its students, the College has also seen as a goal the individualization of study programs and evaluation of performance. EEO students, like all Macalester students, were given opportunities to do independent study projects and participate in seminars and topics courses.

The students found a flexible grading system where they could opt for the traditional A-F grade or be graded on a "Satisfactory" or "Unsatisfactory" basis. Further efforts to develop greater sensitivity to individual needs were implemented by modifying the policies related to the recording of failures in courses and by allowing students to withdraw from a course, to defer receiving of a grade, and to carry a reduced courseload. Also, from time to time compensatory courses have been offered; for instance, a course in improvement of reading and writing skills was offered for EEO students during the 1972 Interim Term.

Individual Learning Center and Counseling

In September, 1969, Macalester added an Individual Learning Center to its academic support programs. The Center's creation was one of the ideas envisioned in the original planning for EEO. It was to offer preventive, diagnostic, and remedial services for students in a variety of problem areas. Dr. Dayton Hultgren (now President of United Theological Seminary) was its director and two educational

[1]Interim Term is a four-week period between the fall and spring terms designed to give students the opportunity for uninterrupted and intensive group or individual study of a subject of particular interest to them. For a more complete description and evaluation of the Interim Term, see Armstrong, J. L., "Interim Term: A Brief History and the Macalester Model," Macalester College, 1970 (Mimeographed), and Rossmann, J. E., "The Interim Term after Seven Years," Journal of Higher Education, XLII, 7, (1971), 603-609.

skills counselors worked with students to assess needs, improve skills in reading, aid in spelling, vocabulary, study strategies, writing, and use of the library and research materials. The staff worked with faculty to identify students' special needs (e.g. English as a second language for international students) and to train students in educational skill improvement. Another function of the Center was to provide upperclass student tutors to assist specific students with learning problems when departmental preceptors and/or faculty were not in a position to offer the service. In the first five months of the Center's operation, of the 69 freshmen given help in skills improvement, 30 were EEO students and 10 of the 16 students who had been tutored in difficult subject areas by seniors were EEO participants.

In addition to the services provided by the Individual Learning Center during 1969-70, students were aided in their advising and counseling needs by the appointment of two academic counselors to the EEO staff, by faculty advisors who had special human relations training, and by the use of disadvantaged upperclass students who served as tutor-counselors for the new students. These tutor-counselors kept in close touch with the EEO students and contacted their instructors on a regular basis to inquire about their progress and special needs.

Students with personal problems could get help from counselors on the EEO staff as well as from professional counselors and psychologists in:

- -The Office of Counseling and Psychological Services (The staff consisted of a coordinator, who is a psychologist, a full-time black counselor, and a part-time psychiatrist).

- -The Office of Career Planning and Placement (The staff was comprised of a director, four aides in professional and graduate school advising and a black counselor who supervised field service and placement activities in the black community).

- -The Residence Halls (An increase from four to nine professional counselors-in-residence resulted in every on-campus residence having its own counselor in the fall of 1969).

- -The International Center (Two counselors served Macalester foreign students and other students participating in the College's foreign programs).

Budgetary cutbacks in the winter and spring of 1971 led to the phasing out of the Individual Learning Center and a reduction in the professional counseling staff. While the special tutoring and preceptor programs were dropped with the loss of the Center, some of this work and other services were taken over by an educational skills counselor in the Office of Counseling and Psychological Services. Tutoring continued to be provided by upperclass students.

Co-curricular Programs

Another program objective --development of co-curricular programs-- was partially attained by the spring of 1969. Included in the EEO proposal, as a component of the co-curricular program, was an Afro-American center which was envisioned as a "counterpart to the International Center" to serve as a "cultural and social center for black students but open to all students." Following the adoption of the proposal on December 5, 1968, the students Black Liberation Affairs Committee formed a committee of seven of their members under the chairmanship of James Bennett to produce a proposal that described such a center. It would incorporate a wide range of services including a library, communication service, a community services program, a youth services program, a creative development program, a black studies program, an Afro-American culture series, and a comprehensive social program.

In March, 1969, a student-directed drive to raise $15,000 to fund the furnishing of the activities and cultural center, to provide a book fund for EEO students, and to provide financial support for a black culture series was launched on the campus. Faculty, administration, staff, and students contributed more than $21,750. In addition, a trustee of the College contributed $25,000 toward refurbishing a home adjacent to the campus selected for the new center. The center was operating by the summer of 1969.

By the end of the 1969-70 academic year most of the components of the proposal for the Afro-American cultural center had become a reality. BLAC, an organization representing black students, offered all students, but especially black students, a black cultural series and community volunteer work. Black drama and choral groups have also been organized and have performed throughout the Twin Cities and Upper Midwest.

But the black students were not alone in becoming organized. EEO's Indian American students organized a Native American Coalition (NAC) and members of the group aided in recruiting Indian students for EEO. They helped develop Indian courses for Macalester's curriculum and recommended the appointment of a coordinator of Indian programs on campus-- a position that was filled by an Indian student who graduated from Macalester. Macalester's Mexican-American and Puerto Rican students, known as "Hispanic students", have also become organized. Involvement in groups such as these has aided minority students in adjusting to campus life and given them a means through which concerns and interests common to their group can be discussed.

There have been additional behavioral indicators which suggest that a meaningful ethnic pluralism has developed at Macalester. Student body elections in the spring of 1972 resulted in two women - one black, one white - being elected to the "co-presidency" of the student body. Minority representation on the student governing board and among leadership positions in the dormitory has also become approximately proportional to the representation in the student body.

Membership requirements for the Student Judicial Council were changed during the 1971-72 adademic year so that, "One member shall be elected from each of the following cultural constituency groups: black, white, Spanish-surnamed, American Indian".

Financial Foundation

As previously noted, the Macalester Board of Trustees allocated $900,000 from the College's capital gains from unrestricted endowment funds to the EEO program over a three-year period. Initial contributions from members of the College community, a local foundation, and a trustee of the College totaled $51,750. Expenditures showed $180,000 spent during 1968-69 to staff the project and to provide a summer program for the first group of students. Cost of the program for the 1969-70 academic year, including the 1970 summer program, was $562,650. This figure included a total aid package for each EEO student which covered tuition and fees, travel, books, medical and dental care when necessary and all other costs related to the student's attendance at Macalester. ($3,200 per student). Financial support for EEO students has remained firm so that in 1970-71 each participant received $3,500 of aid (primarily scholarship), and $3,750 in 1971-72 and 1972-73.

As recognized from the beginning, continuation of the program would depend on outside funds. Macalester sought and received in 1970 a grant of $142,000 from the U.S. Office of Education to continue and improve its special services for disadvantaged students. Renewal of this grant has resulted in $413,930 in aid awarded to Macalester (since 1970) by the Office of Education's Division of Student Special Services.

Results

The preceding section provided a general description of the development of Macalester's program for Expanded Educational Opportunities. This section presents some of the early outcomes with regard to academic progress and student attitudes.

Pre-College Variables for EEO and Non-EEO Students

Macalester College in the 1960's relied heavily on the verbal and mathematics scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and High School Rank when making admissions decisions. With the advent of the EEO program, however, the number of criteria for admissions were increased and Table 1 reflects the outcomes of these changes. It presents the means and standard deviations for the variables from applications that were considered for admission under the Expanded Educational Opportunities Program (EEO) and those that went through the traditional admissions procedures (Non-EEO) for three successive cohorts of freshmen. In addition to categorizing the data according to sex and EEO status, three decision strategies were investigated -- whether the application was rejected by the College, whether it was accepted by the College and the student enrolled, and whether it was accepted for admission but the student chose not to enroll at Macalester. Applications that were canceled by the student before action was taken by the College were excluded from the analysis.

Insert Table 1 About Here

As indicated in Table 1, most of the means for the non-EEO rejected applications to the College were higher than the means for the EEO students who were accepted and enrolled in the College. The differences were the most striking on the scores of the ability test with most of the differences ranging from one-half to slightly over one standard deviation. However, when the pre-college achievement variable of high school rank was considered, the enrolled EEO students were usually slightly higher than the rejected non-EEO students.

Another interesting finding in Table 1 relates to the loss of the higher ability EEO and non-EEO students. In most instances, students who were accepted for admission by the College but chose to enroll at other institutions averaged slightly higher on the ability and achievement variables than those students who eventually chose to enroll as freshmen at Macalester. (Data from other sources at the College indicated that almost all students who were accepted for admission to Macalester but did not enroll chose another institution rather than not attending college at all.) These data suggested that Macalester was a second choice college for many students and if they were accepted at an institution they considered more de-

sirable, they enrolled there.

Also of interest in Table 1 was the acceptance/enrollment rates for the EEO and non-EEO applications. Most potential students who applied under the EEO program with its attractive financial aid package enrolled if they were accepted by the College. In contrast, only 40-60% of the non-EEO applicants enrolled at Macalester if they were accepted for admissions.

Academic Outcomes

Since the College was in the midst of shifting to a more comprehensive computer-oriented student information system, data on college achievement for this project had to be collected manually. To provide comparison data for the students in the EEO program, random samples of 50 entering freshman men and 50 women not involved in the EEO program were selected for each of the three years included in the study -- 1969, 1970, and 1971. These samples represented about 10% of the total entering freshmen for each year.

Table 2 presents the means, standard deviations, and t-ratios for the non-EEO random samples and the EEO students from each cohort, split by sex and year on the pre-college ability and achievement variables that were available. Since complete data were not available on all students, the sample sizes reported in Table 2 are slightly smaller than the actual number of students involved in either the EEO or non-EEO categories.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Similar to the data in Table 1, the Table 2 data indicate that on almost all comparisons the EEO and non-EEO students differed significantly. The spread between the mean scores for the EEO and non-EEO students on the pre-college ability test scores was about two standard deviations. The non-EEO students were about one standard deviation above the national norm mean and the EEO students were about one standard deviation below.

The differences between EEO and non-EEO groups were less pronounced when past achievement was taken into consideration. The differences on High School Rank were significant for two of the three years, however.

Examining only pre-college achievement and ability variables would lead to the prediction that the EEO students would have a great deal of difficulty in achieving successfully at the College and would probably have a higher attrition rate than non-EEO students. The succeeding sections explore the extent to which this would be an accurate prediction.

Grade-point averages. Using official College transcripts, the academic records of EEO and non-EEO students were examined in the summer of 1972. All academic course work through the Spring term of 1972 was used in the calculation of grade-point averages and these data are presented in Table 3. Grade-point calculations were made for first term, first year, and cumulatively through Spring 1972 or the last term in which the student had been enrolled at the College.

Insert Table 3 About Here

As indicated in Table 3 and as would be predicted from the pre-college ability and achievement measures, the students in the EEO program had significantly lower GPAs than the comparison random samples for each of the three years. The differences between the EEO and non-EEO students tended to range from about one-half to one standard deviation--roughly equivalent to the range of differences on the pre-college achievement variable, High School Rank. It should be noted, however, that these differences were a good deal smaller than the test score differentials.

Even though the EEO students were not achieving at a level as high as the non-EEO students, all the first-year means and Spring 1972 means for EEO students were at or slightly above a C average of 2.0. By comparison, the non-EEO students had a B average or slightly below.

In line with other research, analysis of the grade-point data by sex indicated that for most of the comparisons, females did slightly better than the males although these differences were not significant.

Other achievement data. When the transcript files were searched in the summer of 1972 for grade-point averages, other academic information also was noted as follows:

a. The number of Satisfactory or "S" grades and the number of Unsatisfactory or "U" grades received. Students had the option of taking courses outside of their major field of concentration on an "S-U" basis, where letter grades of A, B, and C were equivalent to an "S" grade and D, F, or NC were equivalent to a "U" grade. At the start of Fall 1971 term, the College no longer recorded failing work as an F, but changed to a No Credit (NC) system. Excluded from the "S" and "U" totals were grades received in non-academic courses such as choir, physical education activity courses, etc., and grades received during Interim Term (the Interim Term grades are all S or U and would have spuriously inflated the totals included).

b. The number of Incompletes or "I" grades that the student received. If a student received an Incomplete grade for a course, then an "I" was entered on the transcript. When the course requirements were completed by the student, the "I" was changed to A, B, C, D, or S if the work was satis-

factory, or F, NC, or U if the work was unsatisfactory, or F or NC if the incomplete was not made up within the prescribed time limits. Thus, it was possible to record the number of incomplete grades received by the students even though the incompletes had been changed later to a letter grade.

c. Total number of semesters completed. If a student dropped all courses for a semester, that term was not counted. Summer Session and Interim Term were also excluded.

d. Total number of successfully and unsuccessfully completed credit courses. The number of successfully-completed academic courses consisted of all academic courses where grades of A, B, C, D, or S were recorded and included all incompletes that had been satisfactorily made up. At Macalester, each academic course is considered to be equivalent in credit value to all other academic courses (equivalent to four semester hours). Again, Interim Term courses were excluded from the calculations. The number of unsuccessfully completed courses were those where grades of F, NC, or U were recorded. Excluded from the unsuccessful total were incompletes that were outstanding if the student still had sufficient time to make up the work within the time limits set by the College.

Table 4 presents the means, standard deviations, and t-ratios for the above achievement data by class and sex. The number of satisfactory or "S" grades and the number of unsuccessful credit courses consistently differentiated the EEO from non-EEO students (for both men and women) for all three years. Non-EEO students received significantly more "S" grades than their EEO counterparts, but the EEO students did not have a correspondingly significant higher rate of "U" grades. Thus non-EEO students were apparently making greater use of the S-U option.

Insert Table 4 About Here

However, the EEO students did have a significantly greater number of courses for which they did not receive credit, either because they did not make up the incomplete grades in time or because they had received unsatisfactory grades. The trend was for the non-EEO students to average a greater number of successfully completed courses although the differences were not significant in all cases.

Both the EEO and non-EEO students had received a very small number of incomplete grades. The only exception was the 1969 EEO male group which averaged .4 incomplete courses.

The EEO students also had a slightly higher average for all comparisons on the number of semesters completed although none of the differences was significant. These data on number of completed semesters

indicated that EEO students had a higher persistence rate than the non-EEO students. This variable is more completely analyzed in the following section.

Persistence. Table 5 presents the persistence rates for the EEO and non-EEO students based on the last semester successfully completed at Macalester. For example, a student registered for the Spring 1972 term who left the College before the end of the term was not regarded as a persister for that term. The outcomes in Table 5 vary somewhat by year, but in general the students in the EEO program had a higher persistence rate than the sample of non-EEO students.

Insert Table 5 About Here

About 95% of both groups (EEO and non-EEO) completed the first year successfully and approximately 80-85% of the non-EEO sample returned for the following fall term. Comparable data for the EEO students between the end of their freshman year and the start of their sophomore year ranged from a low of 86% retention for the 1970 EEO men to almost total retention for the 1969 EEO men. The trend, however, was for a relatively high rate of retention from year one to year two for the EEO students, and for the 1969 cohort high retention held through the spring of their third year.

When the retention rates were investigated by sex, generally the men, both EEO and non-EEO, persisted at a higher rate for almost all points in their academic careers than did the women. This was a somewhat surprising finding since the women (both EEO and non-EEO) had higher grade-point-averages than the males. Exact reasons for the differential persistence rates for the men and women in this study were unknown, but previous research has suggested that men may be more career-oriented. Thus, even though they achieve at somewhat lower levels academically, they persist longer at the College.

Major field of study. In the fall of 1972, students were asked at registration to indicate their major field of study. These data were then searched to determine the intended major field of concentration for the students in the Expanded Educational Opportunities program and for the non-EEO sample. Because of the relatively small sample sizes, the majors were aggregated into the following broad fields of concentrations:

Fine Arts
Art, Music, Speech and Drama

Humanities
English, French, German, Classics, Russian, Humanities, Philosophy, Religion, Spanish

Physical Sciences
Biology, Chemistry, Geology, Mathematics, Physics

Social/Behavioral Sciences
Economics, Education, Elementary Education, Geography, History, Physical Education, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology

Interdisciplinary
Major requirements satisfied through a number of departments

Undecided
No major decided upon

Because students may have double majors, some students were split across the above divisional categorizations. For example, a student with an English/History major was classified as one-half in Humanities and one-half in Social/Behavioral Sciences. However, for most of the students with double majors, the entry usually occurred within one division, e.g., Political Science/Economics fell into the Social/Behavioral Sciences division.

Insert Table 6 About Here

The data reported in Table 6 are based on the major listed by the students for Fall term 1972. Clearly, the students in the EEO program tended to opt more frequently for courses in the Social/Behavioral Science division than did non-EEO students. By comparison, non-EEO students tended to lean more towards the physical sciences, fine arts and humanities. More non-EEO students were also undecided about their major field.

Student Satisfaction and Interaction

One of the objectives of most programs like EEO is to increase opportunities for students to interact with other students whose backgrounds differ from their own. To what extent have these kinds of interactions occurred at Macalester? While the available data cannot be regarded as definitive, they do provide some tentative answers to this question.

In the spring of 1970 (near the end of the first academic year in which EEO had been in existence). random samples of EEO (N=20) and non-EEO (N=28) students were interviewed by one black and one white interviewer. Included in the interview was an item which asked the students, "How many friends do you have here at Macalester that are of a different racial or ethnic background from yours?"

The median response for EEO students was four and for non-EEO

students, the median response was three. For both groups, no more than one-fifth of the respondents said they had no Macalester friends from a different racial or ethnic background.

Another interview item asked the students, "Taking everything into consideration, how do you feel about your experience at Macalester so far?" Responses to the item indicated fairly sizable differences between the responses of EEO and non-EEO students. Just over one-third of the EEO students expressed satisfaction with their Macalester experience while the rest reported some kind of mixed feelings. More than two-thirds of the non-EEO students, on the other hand, expressed satisfaction with Macalester.

A second data collection effort involved the administration of an "Expectations Questionnaire" to most Macalester incoming freshmen in the falls of 1969, 1970, and 1971. Three items tapped dimensions of student interaction: "I will meet many different kinds of people;" "I will have no difficulty in communicating with people of different races;" "One of my best friends will be someone of a different race."

These items (in past-tense form) were readministered to these three cohorts in the spring of 1971 (fall 1970 cohort) and the spring of 1972 (fall 1969 and 1971 cohorts). Percentage response was 57% (1969); 47% (1970); and 75% (1971). The results of these analyses are presented in Table 7.

Insert Table 7 About Here

There can be little doubt that Macalester students expected to and did meet many different kinds of people. Many of the students, however, experienced difficulty in communicating with people from different races, encountering more communication problems than they had anticipated.

The friendship item yielded somewhat different results from those obtained in the personal interviews with less than one-third of the students suggesting that one of their best friends was someone from a different race. This was probably due to the differential wording of the items. The questionnaire items (as opposed to the interview item) emphasized best friend and included only different race rather than race or ethnic background.

In spite of this somewhat more restrictive wording, however, between one-fourth and one-third of all three cohorts agreed with the statement.

These data would suggest that while the spirit of the times seems to argue for ethnic separatism among many young people, for many others (at least at Macalester College) meaningful interaction seems to be occurring.

Summary and Conclusions

Among the various administrative and educational changes being considered at Macalester College in the fall of 1968 was the possibility of increasing the student body diversity. In September, 1968, the president of the student Community Council raised the issue of increasing the number of students from racial minority groups and from economically and educationally deprived backgrounds who would be admitted to the College. By October, 21, 1968, a preliminary proposal had been developed. The proposal consisted of ten objectives aimed at developing a Macalester educational program which would result in a more diverse student body. On October 22, 1968, the Faculty Advisory Council was given the responsibility for further development of the proposal. After revision, a final form of the document to Expand Educational Opportunities at Macalester was passed at an open faculty meeting on December 5, 1968. The proposal stated that the program was to be "developed and implemented by the Advisory Council in conjunction with appropriate faculty committees, academic departments and administrative officers, and to comprise the following essential components:

1. Provision of total aid (tuition, fees, room and board) for 75 new students each year, including 60 new students from racial minority groups.

2. Specific recruitment and admission of potentially successful students from racial minority groups and economically deprived backgrounds.

3. Enrichment of the curriculum, to broaden awareness and deepen appreciation of the contribution of diverse groups to our society and to our cultural heritage.

4. Exploitation of existing arrangements for individualized educational programs and flexibility in present procedures for evaluation of academic performance; explorations of needs and possibilities for greater individualization and flexibility.

5. Establishment of diagnostic and remedial programs in communications and mathematics, open to all students.

6. Full and imaginative use of the summer programs, to provide orientation to college life and compensatory educational experiences for students recruited under this program and others who would benefit by them.

7. Development of a flexible individualized program of advising.

8. Improvement of co-curricular programs and development of new programs to meet the needs of students recruited under this program as well as the rest of the College community in relation to them.

9. Orientation of faculty, students, administrators, and other staff, to begin in the spring of 1969 and be available on a continuing basis throughout the year.

10. Continuous coordination and evaluation of all parts of the program."

After approval of the proposal by members of the Macalester community, Arthur S. Flemming, President of the College, recommended full approval of the Expanded Educational Opportunities proposal to the Board of Trustees at its January, 1969, meeting and also proposed up to $900,000 from the College's unrestricted funds be made available to get the program off the ground if EEO did not attract sufficient new funds. The Board approved both the EEO program and the requested financial support.

Primary preparation for and implementation of the program was in the hands of the Advisory Council with many of the responsibilities being assumed by other faculty members, supporting staff, and students. By June, 1969, an executive director of the program had been appointed and some $180,000 had been spent during the 1968-69 academic year to hire staff for the program and to provide a summer orientation for the EEO students.

Initial steps involved in the admission and recruitment of students to participate in EEO were to establish a sub-committee of the Faculty Advisory Council (the Admissions and Financial Aid Committee) and to hire a full-time black admissions counselor. Formalization of the recruitment and screening of minority group applicants occurred in October, 1969, by establishing a Black Admissions Sub-Committee to serve as the selection committee.

In considering students for the program, standard test scores and academic records were considered but more importantly a student's "potential success", as determined by personal recommendations and interviews, were given weight in admissions' decisions. The first EEO freshman class consisted of 82 students of black, white, American Indian, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American descent. The total number of students in the program as of the fall of 1970 was 150, with 166 in the fall of 1971 and 185 participants in the fall of 1972. An original decision to take in 75 new students each year was modified after two years and resulted in only 40 new EEO students admitted in the falls of 1971 and 1972.

Along with an increase in minority students the College increased its number of minority faculty and staff members. The number of faculty from the non-white community increased from 1 in 1968 to 11 in 1969 and represented nine disciplines. The non-white administrative staff increased from 1 to 12.

One component of the EEO proposal called for a summer program to provide orientation to college life and compensatory educational experiences for the new EEO students. The 1969 Summer Program consisted primarily of a week of orientation,with the remaining four weeks devoted to seminars taught by black faculty members and workshops directed by

upperclassmen. Although this program was dropped after one year, all new EEO students have participated each year in a fall orientation week before classes began.

Another objective of the EEO program was to enrich the curriculum with courses of particular interest and relevance to the new group of students. In the first year of the program this need was met through "Topics" courses and courses in Black History, Black Theater, and Black Music that were taught by members of the EEO staff. The next year "black Studies" material was offered in the co-curricular program through the Afro-American Cultural Center and two courses in American Indian Studies were added to the college curriculum. By the third year of the program, the English and history departments had added courses of particular interest to minority students. Further changes included ten new Interim Term courses focusing on the contributions and problems of diverse groups in our society.

In the fall of 1969, the Individual Learning Center was added to offer preventive, diagnostic, and remedial services to students. Through the Center students were able to receive help in improving reading skills, spelling, vocabulary, study strategies, and writing. In addition to aiding students directly, the staff trained students in educational skills development so they, in turn, could help other students in this area.

EEO students received further advising and counseling help from EEO staff members, faculty advisors and from disadvantaged upperclass tutor-counselors who kept in close touch with a student's progress and special needs. Further help with personal problems could be sought from professional counselors and psychologists in the Office of Counseling and Psychological Services, the Office of Career Planning and Placement, the International Center, and in the residence halls.

In the fall of 1971, the Individual Learning Center was phased out and the professional counseling staff reduced due to budgetary cutbacks, but the essential services of the Center were taken over by an educational skills counselor in the Office of Counseling and Psychological Services and the tutoring continued to be provided by upperclassmen.

Another proposal component implemented by the summer of 1969 was the development of an Afro-American center that would serve primarily as a cultural and social center for black students and provide a wide range of services from a Black cultural series to a community services program. Under the direction of a chairman and the Black Liberation Affairs Committee, details for the Center were worked out and a drive to raise money for the Center was organized. EEO's black students were not alone in becoming organized, as the Indian students also organized a Native American Coalition and the Hispanic students organized the Mexican-American and Puerto Rican students.

Once the EEO proposal had been accepted by the various members of the Macalester community, a great deal of time and money was spent to see the program become a reality, as envisioned by the ten essential proposal components. Financial support in the form of $900,000 from the

College's unrestricted endowment fund was allocated for program use over a three-year period. As this amount needed to be supplemented, the College sought and received a $142,000 grant from the U.S. Office of Education to continue and improve its special services to disadvantaged students. Over EEO's three and one-half year existence, while some aspects of the program have faced termination or revision, the financial commitment to EEO students has remained firm so that each program-participant received a total aid package of $3,500 in 1970-71, and $3,750 in 1971-72 and 1972-73.

Empirical outcomes indicated that the rates of persistence among the EEO students have been high. Seventy-six percent of the 1969 EEO cohort completed the spring term of their junior year as compared to 59% of a random sample of non-EEO students who enrolled in the same year. The rate of academic progress of the EEO students (as measured by grades and number of courses completed) was somewhat slower than for the non-EEO sample. Most EEO students were making satisfactory progress, however, and the grade average differential between EEO and non-EEO students was similar to the differences between the two groups in high school rank.

While many students reported having difficulty communicating with persons from racial backgrounds different from their own, one-fourth or more of each of three cohorts of students (1969, 1970, and 1971 enrollees) reported that one of their friends was a member of a different race.

In many respects, Macalester's EEO program is still in its early stages. The first entering cohort of students has yet to complete its fourth year at the College and the "final" persistence rates are not as yet known. The program does appear to have gotten off to a successful start. It has withstood some not unexpected criticism from both on- and off-campus, as well as survived some serious financial difficulties which were encountered by the total College. Ultimately, of course, the effectiveness of programs like EEO are not determined by persistence rates or grade averages, but by the contributions which the student participants make to the society which they enter on leaving college. That evaluation must be delayed for a number of years, but these initial data make it appear likely that a significant number of young persons, both EEO participants and non-participants, will lead more sensitive and productive lives because of Macalester's decision to expand educational opportunities.

TABLE 1

ABILITY AND ACHIEVEMENT MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS
OF APPLICANTS TO MACALESTER COLLEGE

	HIGH SCHOOL RANK			SAT-VERBAL			SAT-MATHEMATICS		
	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.
Class- 1969									
EEO MEN									
Accepted-enrolled	37	70	26	41	424	99	41	435	100
Accepted-not enrolled	7	91	6	7	489	126	7	524	102
Rejected	17	60	26	16	314	108	17	391	113
NON-EEO MEN									
Accepted-enrolled	236	89	11	239	619	78	239	638	79
Accepted-not enrolled	206	92	9	214	631	78	214	658	85
Rejected	144	67	18	148	512	91	148	557	90
EEO WOMEN									
Accepted-enrolled	39	78	18	39	449	100	39	445	79
Accepted-not enrolled	7	95	4	7	540	142	7	484	101
Rejected	20	79	18	23	457	101	23	439	82
NON-EEO WOMEN									
Accepted-enrolled	249	94	8	256	650	71	256	616	82
Accepted-not enrolled	175	94	8	178	649	70	178	620	83
Rejected	119	75	18	128	505	89	128	514	98
Class- 1970									
EEO MEN									
Accepted-enrolled	33	69	27	37	382	99	37	399	88
Accepted-not enrolled	6	89	11	8	410	147	8	453	147
Rejected	9	64	32	7	346	79	7	359	54
NON-EEO MEN									
Accepted-enrolled	256	85	18	258	608	107	258	624	111
Accepted-not enrolled	274	88	16	286	631	99	286	649	95
Rejected	181	61	24	179	461	110	179	499	130
EEO WOMEN									
Accepted-enrolled	36	69	24	36	371	99	36	384	102
Accepted-not enrolled	14	82	23	17	531	77	17	494	103
Rejected	5	61	25	6	355	121	6	325	54
NON-EEO WOMEN									
Accepted-enrolled	323	91	13	331	632	74	331	601	91
Accepted-not enrolled	239	91	13	253	637	90	253	604	95
Rejected	186	71	23	188	478	108	188	478	111

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Class- 1971	HIGH SCHOOL RANK N	MEAN	S.D.	SAT-VERBAL N	MEAN	S.D.	SAT-MATHEMATICS N	MEAN	S.D.
EEO MEN									
Accepted-enrolled	18	70	25	20	426	94	20	451	121
Accepted-not enrolled	6	42	22	7	456	80	7	437	109
Rejected	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NON-EEO MEN									
Accepted-enrolled	223	79	20	225	603	84	225	620	103
Accepted-not enrolled	267	83	20	284	612	95	284	646	94
Rejected	81	62	26	111	461	120	111	494	130
EEO WOMEN									
Accepted-enrolled	14	75	27	15	416	86	15	401	71
Accepted-not enrolled	-	-	-	2	440	70	2	385	120
Rejected	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NON-EEO WOMEN									
Accepted-enrolled	277	86	17	284	602	85	284	575	90
Accepted-not enrolled	298	86	17	310	613	79	310	587	90
Rejected	75	64	22	102	449	131	102	453	123

TABLE 2

PRE-COLLEGE ABILITY AND
ACHIEVEMENT SCORES

	High School Rank				SAT - Verbal				SAT - Mathematics			
	N	Mean	S.D.	t	N	Mean	S.D.	t	N	Mean	S.D.	t
Class- 1969												
Non-EEO Men	48	88	14		49	623	76		49	639	74	
				3.69***				10.53***				10.90***
EEO Men	37	70	26		41	424	99		41	435	100	
Non-EEO Women	47	92	9		48	626	105		48	600	114	
				4.40***				7.97***				7.45***
EEO Women	39	78	18		39	449	100		39	445	79	
Class- 1970												
Non-EEO Men	50	85	15		50	621	95		50	627	92	
				3.14**				11.32***				11.69***
EEO Men	33	69	27		37	382	99		37	399	88	
Non-EEO Women	50	90	15		50	625	83		50	593	97	
				4.49***				12.51***				9.53***
EEO Women	36	69	24		36	371	99		36	384	102	
Class- 1971												
Non-EEO Men	46	75	22		47	595	85		47	608	98	
				.70				6.92***				5.11***
EEO Men	18	70	25		20	426	94		20	451	121	
Non-EEO Women	47	88	13		50	618	85		50	572	78	
				1.79				8.03***				7.98***
EEO Women	14	75	27		15	416	86		15	401	71	

**p < .01
***p < .001

TABLE 3

COLLEGE ACHIEVEMENT DATA--
GRADE POINT AVERAGES

	1st Term				1st Year			Cumulative		
	N	Mean	S.D.	t	Mean	S.D.	t	Mean	S.D.	t
Class- 1969										
Non-EEO Men	50	2.8	.7	2.90**	2.9	.6	2.58*	2.9	.8	4.02***
EEO Men	43	2.3	.9		2.5	.8		2.2	.8	
Non-EEO Women	50	2.9	.6	2.78**	3.0	.6	3.54***	3.0	.5	5.71***
EEO Women	39	2.5	.6		2.6	.5		2.4	.5	
Class- 1970										
Non-EEO Men	50	2.8	.9	2.34*	2.9	.6	4.85***	2.9	.7	5.19***
EEO Men	39	2.3	1.1		2.2	.8		2.1	.8	
Non-EEO Women	50	3.0	.8	3.86***	3.0	.8	4.39***	2.9	.8	4.28***
EEO Women	36	2.2	1.0		2.2	.9		2.1	.8	
Class- 1971										
Non-EEO Men	50	2.8	1.0	2.34*	2.6	1.0	2.33*	2.6	1.0	2.33**
EEO Men	20	1.9	1.2		2.0	1.0		2.0	1.0	
Non-EEO Women	50	3.0	.7	2.48*	3.0	.6	3.33**	3.0	.6	3.33**
EEO Women	15	2.2	1.2		2.2	.9		2.2	.9	

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

TABLE 4

COLLEGE ACHIEVEMENT DATA

	Men							Women						
	Random			EEO				Random			EEO			
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	t	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	t
Class- 1969														
S-grades	50	2.0	1.8	43	.8	1.6	3.33**	50	1.8	1.8	39	.6	.6	4.34***
I-grades	50	.1	.4	43	.4	1.6	-.95	50	.1	.3	39	.1	.5	-.33
U-grades	50	.5	1.0	43	.8	1.2	-1.09	50	.5	1.0	39	.9	1.1	-1.76
Semesters Completed	50	4.9	1.5	43	5.4	1.1	-1.84	50	4.8	1.6	39	5.2	1.4	-1.21
Successful Credit Courses	50	17.8	6.8	43	16.4	7.4	.94	50	18.0	7.0	39	16.5	6.7	1.05
Unsuccessful Credit Courses	50	.8	2.3	43	2.6	2.7	-3.35**	50	.5	1.4	39	1.8	2.3	-2.96**
Class- 1970														
S-grades	50	1.5	3.0	39	.3	.8	2.83**	50	1.6	1.5	36	.2	.5	5.67***
I-grades	50	.1	.3	39	.1	.3	-.27	50	.1	.4	36	.0	.2	1.23
U-grades	50	.6	.9	39	.6	.9	.18	50	.4	.7	36	.5	.8	-.58
Semesters Completed	50	3.6	1.0	39	3.7	1.1	-.72	50	3.1	1.1	36	3.2	1.1	-.46
Successful Credit Courses	50	13.0	4.0	39	9.9	5.1	3.07**	50	12.4	6.7	36	10.2	6.3	1.56
Unsuccessful Credit Courses	50	.5	1.1	39	1.9	2.4	-3.36**	50	.4	.9	36	1.5	1.8	-3.55***
Class- 1971														
S-grades	50	.5	.7	20	.2	.4	2.89**	50	.8	1.7	15	.2	.6	2.11*
I-grades	50	.0	.0	20	.0	.0	.00	50	.0	.3	15	.0	.0	.00
U-grades	50	.3	.5	20	.6	1.2	-1.15	50	.6	2.8	15	.6	.7	.09
Semesters Completed	50	1.9	.3	20	2.0	.2	-.52	50	1.9	.4	15	2.0	.0	-1.94
Successful Credit Courses	50	6.6	2.4	20	5.0	2.4	2.58**	50	7.1	2.1	15	5.7	2.1	2.16*
Unsuccessful Credit Courses	50	.5	1.2	20	1.4	1.6	-2.36*	50	.2	.7	15	1.1	1.3	-2.32*

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$
***$p < .001$

TABLE 5

LAST SEMESTER SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED

	N	Fall 1969	Spring 1970	Fall 1970	Spring 1971	Fall 1971	Spring 1972
Class- 1969							
Random Men	50	100%	98%	86%	84%	72%	62%
EEO Men	43	100%	98%	98%	95%	91%	79%
Random Women	50	98%	90%	84%	84%	70%	56%
EEO Women	39	100%	97%	92%	87%	77%	72%
Class- 1970							
Random Men	50			100%	98%	90%	86%
EEO Men	39			100%	100%	95%	72%
Random Women	50			98%	90%	80%	61%
EEO Women	36			97%	89%	75%	64%
Class- 1971							
Random Men	50					96%	92%
EEO Men	20					100%	95%
Random Women	50					100%	94%
EEO Women	15					100%	100%

TABLE 6

MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY AS OF
FALL 1972

	1969		1970		1971	
	EEO N=51	RANDOM N=53	EEO N=46	RANDOM N=56	EEO N=23	RANDOM N=64
Fine Arts	6%	15%	11%	10%	2%	12%
Humanities	10%	20%	12%	19%	13%	10%
Physical Sciences	8%	20%	14%	13%	9%	16%
Social/Behavioral Sciences	75%	38%	57%	41%	54%	29%
Interdisciplinary	0%	4%	0%	5%	0%	2%
Undecided	2%	4%	7%	12%	22%	31%

Table 7

Pre- Post Responses to Student Interaction Expectations

		1969 (N=184)		1970 (N=227)		1971 (N=188)	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
I have been able to meet many different kinds of people.	Agree	97%	86%	98%	87%	97%	80%
	Uncertain	2	7	1	6	3	12
	Disagree	1	7	0	7	0	8
I have had no difficulty in communicating with people of different races.	Agree	30%	22%	3[illegible]%	43%	38%	29%
	Uncertain	50	26	44	27	48	24
	Disagree	20	52	17	30	14	47
One of my best friends has been someone of a different race.	Agree	14%	30%	7%	26%	11%	25%
	Uncertain	68	3	75	7	80	4
	Disagree	18	67	19	67	9	71

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